The Miſchief of

CABALS:

OR, THE

Faction Expos'd.

WITH SOME

CONSIDERATIONS

FOR A

Laſting Settlement.

In a LETTER to a MEMBER of PARLIAMENT.

I know no Reſolutions more worthy a Chriſtian King, than to prefer his Conſcience before his Kingdoms. K. Charles 1. Eikon Baſil. c. 6.

LONDON,
Printed, and are to be ſold by *Randal Taylor*, near *Stationers-Hall*. 1685.

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LONDON,

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SIR,

HAD you known how averſe I have always been from ripping up old *Sores*, or hitting others on the *Teeth* with their paſt *Miſcarriages*, when they promiſe to grow wiſer and mend their *Manners*, you wou'd not, I am confident, have impos'd upon me ſo ungrateful a *Task*, as the giving you an *account* of the *extravagant Proceedings* of ſome of our late *pretended Patriots*, which promoted, if not occaſion'd, the *Tragical Scene* like to have follow'd, had not *Providence* miraculouſly interpos'd.

But when you aſſure me, 'tis not only convenient, but very neceſſary for the Publick Service, in the preſent poſture of Affairs, to expoſe to the World the *fatal Conſequences* of *Factions* and *Cabals*, and the *unwarrantable Reſolutions* of a prevailing part of the *Commons* in our two laſt *Parliaments*, that others may thereby take warning to avoid that unhappy *Rock*, whereon their Predeceſſors have ſo unluckily ſplit; this *powerful Charm*, which ſhall ever Influence all the *Actions* of my *Life*, together with the *weight* of your own *Commands*, have forc'd me at laſt to a *complyance*. And tho' for the moſt part, this Subject has been already handled by ſeveral *Pens*, and particularly by the *Author* of the *Lawyer Outlaw'd*, who made it his buſineſs to ſhew by ſeveral Reaſons and Arguments, beſides divers *Acts* of *Parliament*, and a great many *Preſidents* and *Records*, that as the *Fears* and *Jealouſies* of the *People* were *groundleſs* and *imaginary*, ſo the *Reſolutions* of the *Leading Members* at that time were *Arbitrary* and *Illegal*, contrary to *Magna Charta*, and the *fundamental Laws* of the *Nation*: Yet at your requeſt, ſince the *Gentlemen* were pleas'd to get their *Votes* Printed, by way of an *Appeal* to the *People*, I will amongſt others briefly offer you my Thoughts upon the matter, but after ſome few preliminaries, will begin mine where that *Gentleman* ended his *Diſcourſe*.

You remember, I ſuppoſe, what a *Noiſe*, what a *Buſtle* has

been made with contriv'd *Stories*, and continual *Alarums* of *Plots* and *Conſpiracies* upon our *Religion* and *Liberty*, like the *Romans Hannibal ad Portas*, when there was no danger of either; and what a ſtir they kept with their *tumultuous Petitions* and *Addreſſes* from all the *Fanaticks* and *Republicans* of the *Kingdom* in *Winter* 79. for the *Parliaments* ſitting, which alone they thought was able to cure this *Maladie imaginaire*: And yet when the *Parliament* met, and ſat long enough to have redreſs'd all the reall *Grievances* of the *Nation*, our Worthy Patriots ev'n left us in a worſe condition than they found us. The late *King* of ever bleſſed Memory, whom *God* has taken from an *ungrateful Generation* that was not worthy of him, to Reign with himſelf in *Glory*, offer'd them a great deal more than Subjects ought in duty to expect from their *Soveraign*; yet nothing but the very *unhinging* of the *Government*, by that *Antimonarchical* project the *Bill* of *Excluſion*, wou'd in any meaſure ſatisfie their *Ambition*. The *Loyal Gentlemen* of the *Country*, who dutifully obey'd their *Princes Lawful Proclamation*, were toſs'd from *Poſt* to *Pillar* by their *Catchpoles*, and their *Ban-Dogs*, as *Traytors* to the *People*, and kept ſeveral Weeks under a tedious and chargeable *confinement*, without the leſt *pretence* of *Law*, or Colour of *Juſtice*: And at the ſame time *Sidney* and *Ludlow*, and all the *Republican* Gang of 41. who were skulking abroad ever ſince his late *Majeſties* moſt happy *Reſtauration*, flock'd home with all poſſible expedition, and were the great *Favourites* of our *Leading Members*. But it was certainly a very *Comical* paſſage how civilly they treated Mr. *William Stawell*, one of their *Abhorrers*, who had the courage to diſobey their *unwarrantable Summons*, and tell their *Meſſenger*, if he did any thing contrary to *Law*, he wou'd anſwer for't, as the *Law* directs, in the ſame *County*, where the Fact was committed. The *Leading Members* were ſo puzled at this unexpected *Anſwer*, that they knew neither how to digeſt nor revenge ſo great an *affront*, while Mr. *Stawell* had ſo much *Law* of his ſide; yet thinking it abſolutely neceſſary to find out ſome *Sham* or other to blind the World, leſt this ſhou'd be made a *Leading Card* for others to ſlight their pretended *Authority*, they very obligingly Voted the *Gentleman* ſick, and unable to appear before them; and therefore were pleas'd to allow him a moneths time for his *appearance*. Votes 4. *December* 1680.

But this, and (if you except the grand *project* of *Excluſion*) all the other tricks and devices they made uſe of for eleven Weeks together to *enflame* and *diſtract* the *People*, ſeem'd but a *Flea-bite*, if compar'd with the *unparallell'd Votes* they paſs'd ſome days before they forc'd the *King* to a *Prorogation*: When *Sampſon*-like, who by pulling down the *Pillars* of the *Houſe*, deſtroy'd more *Philiſtines* on the day of his *Death*, than in his whole *Life* before, they did more miſchief by ſhaking the *Foundation* of the *Government* the three laſt days of their ſitting, than in all the reſt of their turbulent Reign.

Reſolved, (ſay they) *That His Majeſty in His laſt Meſſage, having aſſured this Houſe of his readineſs to concur in all other means, for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion; This Houſe doth declare, that until a Bill be likewiſe paſſed for Excluding the D. of* York, *this Houſe cannot give any ſupply to His Majeſty, without danger to His Majeſties Perſon, extream hazard of the Proteſtant Religion, and unfaithfulneſs to thoſe by whom this Houſe is entruſted.* Votes 7th *Jan.* 1680.

In this Vote we may obſerve with ſome Aſtoniſhment the great *Condeſcenſions* of a *Gracious Prince*, and the ungrateful *Returns* of a *ſtubborn People*, who got a *knack*, of late days, to ſtand upon ſuch *trucking* and *bartering* with their *Soveraign*, as their *Predeceſſors* durſt not have offer'd in former Ages. Once indeed they preſum'd on the *Uſurpation* of *H.* 4. who, becauſe of his unjuſt Title, they thought wou'd deny them nothing: And therefore in the Second Year of his *Reign*, *The Commons deſired they might have Anſwer of their Petitions before the gift of any Subſidy*; to which the King anſwer'd, *He would conferr with the Lords, and do what ſhould be beſt, according to their Advice.* And the laſt day of the Parliament He gave this Anſwer, *That that manner of doing had not been ſeen nor uſed in no time of His Progenitors or Predeceſſors, that they ſhould have any Anſwer of their Petitions, or knowledge of it, before they have ſhewed and finiſhed all their other buſineſs of Parliament, be it of any Grant, Buſineſs, or otherwiſe: And therefore the King would not in any ways change the good Cuſtoms and Uſages made and uſed of ancient times.* But now, it ſeems, the caſe is alter'd, and *No Cure, No Money*, is always the Bargain.

The *King* proffers to concurr with them in all other *Expedients* for their ſecurity, without any Limitation or Reſtriction, againſt the groundleſs *Fears* and *Jealouſies* they pretended; but the *Hoghen-Moghen* ſcorn'd to accept of any thing He cou'd ſafely conſent to: And therefore when His Majeſty preſs'd them to think of a *ſupply* for the *relief* of *Tangier*, they, as became ſuch *Loyal* and *Dutiful Subjects*, flatly refus'd it, becauſe of the *apparent Danger* it threatn'd to His *Majeſties Perſon*, and to the *Proteſtant Religion*, if the *Moors* were beaten upon their own *Dunghill*.

Thus all *Expedients* are quite out of doors, and Voted not only *inſufficient*, but *dangerous*; and no care muſt be taken to reſcue *Tangier* out of the hands of *Barbarians*, for fear of *hazarding* His *Majeſties Perſon*, and the *Proteſtant Religion*, by weakning the *Mahometan* Intereſt: No *regard* to the *growing Greatneſs* of *France*, nor the leaſt thought of ſecuring a diſtracted *Nation* from the Deſigns of ſo potent an *Enemy*, and not a *Groat* to be given for the *Honour* and *Wellfare* of the *Kingdom*, without the forbidden fruit, the *Bill* of *Excluſion*. And ſo hot they were upon this *unlucky ſcent*, that like *Æſop's Dog* in the *Manger*, they wou'd neither give any Money themſelves, to ſupply the *Kings urgent Neceſſities*, and to maintain his *Credit* (wherein was contain'd that of the whole *Nation*) either at home or abroad, nor as much as in them lay, ſuffer others to part with any; to which purpoſe, leaſt the *Purſe-ſtrings* of the *Nation*, which they kept very cloſe, ſhou'd chance to fail them, they bethought themſelves of an *enchanted Padlock*, never before made uſe of, for their further *Security*; and to that end they paſs'd the following Vote.

Reſolved, That whoſoever ſhall lend, or cauſe to be lent by way of advance, any Money upon the branches of the Kings Revenue, ariſing by Cuſtoms, Exciſe, or Hearth-Money, ſhall be adjug'd to hinder the ſitting of Parliaments, and ſhall be reſponſable for the ſame in Parliament, Votes ibid.

But why ſhould *Subjects* be condemn'd of this *Bug-bear Crime*, for lending the *King* their own *Money* upon a *valuable Conſideration*? Or why *forejudg'd* by the Houſe of *Commons*, who never had the *Power* of *Judicature*? What, are we gone back again to *Forty One*, to be thus *hag-ridden* a ſecond time? or can we be thought

thought altogether ſo *ſtupid*, as to have forgot the *Tyrannical Uſage* we then receiv'd from a pack of *Villains*, that call'd themſelves the Houſe of *Commons*, and thought their *Nemine Contradicente* was enough to avoid both *Law* and *Goſpel*? No Sir, *A burnt Child dreads the Fire*; and the *Nation* having by a *dear bought-Experience* open'd their *Eyes*, are of late more afraid of their *fellow-Subjects Uſurpation*, than ever they have been of the *Princes Encroachment*: And therefore this *Unwarrantable Vote* ſignified no more, but to let the *People* know what they might expect from ſuch *Patriots*, if they had kept any longer in the *Saddle*; ſince they had as much *Power* to get all the *Money* of *England* into their *Cuſtody and Diſpoſal*, as to make it *Penal* in any one to diſpoſe of his own, as he pleas'd. But let us hear their *laſt Speech* and *Confeſſion* on the happy day of their *Prorogation*, which reſtor'd many an *Honeſt Man* to his *Liberty*, and the *Nation* to ſome interval of *Tranquillity*.

Reſolved, that whoſoever adviſed his Majeſty to prorogue this Parliament, to any other purpoſe than in order to the paſſing of a Bill for the Excluſion of the Duke of York, *is a Betrayer of the King, the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Kingdom of* England; *a Promoter of the* French *Intereſt, and a Penſioner to* France. *Votes* 10. Jan. 1680.

This is but the old *Cant* in a new Dreſs, and the refin'd *Language* of *Billinsgate Oratours*, who always think it the beſt *Policy to cry Whore firſt*, the better to ſtop the mouths of their *Adverſaries*. But I appeal to any Man of common *Senſe*, if theſe very Men, even at that time, were not the *grand Promoters* of the *French Intereſt*, and conſequently *Penſioners to France*. For had that *Politick Monarch* employ'd ſo many *Agents* into *England*, 'tis plain he cou'd not have pitch'd on a ſurer *way* to forward his *Deſigns*, than the dividing and diſtracting the *People* here; which theſe *Gentlemen* have notoriouſly done to the utmoſt of their *Power*. And to ſay, they were ſo *Generous* as to have ſerv'd him *gratis*, is ſo far from leſſening, that it will much aggravate the *Crime*; ſince the Man that betrayes his *Country* for a *Reward*, is far more excuſable, than he that does it out of meer *Malice* and *Ill-will*. I will eaſily allow them, which I think no

Man

Man in his *Wits* will deny, that the *French King* has been theſe many years paſt, and is like to continue, becauſe 'tis his *Intereſt*, the great *Diſturber* of our *Iſraels Peace*. He is *ſenſible*, we are the only *Nation* now able, if united amongſt our ſelves, to give a *Check* to his unlimited *Ambition*, and defeat his long hatch'd Deſigns of an *Univerſal Monarchy*. 'Tis his *Buſineſs* therefore to foment our *Differences*, and ſet us together by the *Ears*, till he finds himſelf in a *Condition* to fall upon us, and deſtroy us. He has already found out our *Blind Side*, our frightful *Apprehenſions* of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government* upon every *ſlight*, or rather no occaſion, which the *Author* of the *Book* call'd the *Policy of France*, has long ſince chalk'd out as the moſt *infallible way* to break us all to pieces. But if we conſider what ſort of Men have of late years purſued this very *Method*, with more than *ordinary Zeal*, have ſtudied all ways imaginable to enflame the *Nation*, and bring their *Soveraign* into an *odium* with his *People*, and by this *Means* have given the *French* an *opportunity* to add *Caſal* and *Straſbourg*, *Courtray*, *Luxemburg*, and other *Places* of *Importance* to his new *Acquiſitions*, and to caſt ſeveral *Slurs* and *Affronts* upon this *Kingdom* both by *Sea* and *Land*: We ſhall eaſily find, that whoever receiv'd the *Penſions*, theſe very *Gentlemen* that cry ſo loud againſt it, were the *grand Promoters* of the *French Intereſt*. I am ſorry this can be ſaid of any, much leſs of ſo many of the *Repreſentatives* of the *Commons* of *England*; or that any ſhould be found among them ſo unmindful of the *Publick*, or ſo far infatuated with a *blind unſeaſonable Zeal* for *Religion*, as inſtead of oppoſing the *Common Enemy*, to ſerve and forward his *Deſigns*. Yet this much we have to ſay to our *Comfort*, that even in that *Houſe there was a Remnant left that bowed not the knee to Baal*, as *Loyal Subjects*, and as hearty *Lovers* of their *Country*, as ever ſate within thoſe *Walls*, tho' ſtill out-voted by the *cunning* and *addreſs* of the *Faction*, who with their plauſible *Pretenses* of *Religion* and *Liberty*, when they really meant *Slavery* and *Confuſion*, by unhinging the beſt of *Government's*, carried all before them. For 'tis plain, there is nothing more *dangerous* to our *preſent Peace and future Happineſs* than the creating ſuch unlucky *diviſions and miſunderſtandings* amongſt us; nothing more neceſſary for our *Preſervation*, than a *laſting union* and a *mutual confidence* between *Prince* and *People*: And therefore as

all

all good *Subjects* are now ſatisfied, theſe *Gentlemen* were led by another *Byaſs* than that of the *Publick good*; ſo I queſtion not but every true *Engliſhman* will mark all thoſe for the future, that will run upon the ſame *Scent*, and look upon them as *Betrayers* of their *Country*, hir'd by our *Enemies* to prepare us for *Deſtruction*. But how, I beſeech you, cou'd the *Proroguing* of that *Parliament*, be a *promoting* of *French deſigns*? What have they done, all the while they ſate, in oppoſition to *France*, or what have they omitted to pleaſe that *ambitious Prince*, and ſecure him in his *Conqueſts*; all their *Votes* and *Reſolutions*, their *Addreſſes* and *Remonſtrances* being all along ſubſervient to his *Ends* and *Purpoſes*? The reaſon was, I ſuppoſe, that having ſet up for *Popular Patriots*, to pleaſe the unthinking *Multitude* in ſome meaſure, they thought it neceſſary to give them a few *Sugar Plums*, by ſeeming to huff againſt the *French*, tho' it was the leaſt of their Thoughts to diſoblige ſo good a *Friend*: As on the other ſide they paſs'd in the following *vote* high *Complements* on their *zealous Sticklers* in *London*, who had bin all along very uſeful to the *Ringleaders* of the *Faction*, to engage them further in the *Cauſe*.

Reſolved, that the thanks of this Houſe be given to the City of London, *for their manifeſt Loyalty to the King, their care, charge, and vigilancy for the preſervation of his Majeſties Perſon, and of the Proteſtant Religion.* Votes ib.

I wiſh the *Gentlemen*, ſince their *Hand* was in, had ſo far oblig'd their *Friends* in *London*, as to have given us any one *inſtance* either of their *Loyalty* to the *King*, or of their *Care* for the *eſtabliſh'd Religion*, in the whole *courſe* of their *unhappy Government*. I know very well, there were at that time many *Loyal* and *Conſcientious Proteſtants* in *London*, whoſe prudent *conduct* and *management* of *Affairs*, has ſince very much contributed to the *Peace* and *Welfare* of the *Nation*. But at this time they were only *Cyphers*, out of all *Power* and *Command*, and daily run down under the *Notion* of *Tories* and *Papiſts* in *Maſquerade*. As for thoſe *Worthies* here careſs'd and applauded for the *Watchmen* of *Iſrael*, who have ſince either fled for their *Villanies*, or got under the *Hatches* for ſeveral *Miſdemeanors*, none but ſuch *Patriots* wou'd have left them unpuniſh'd, much leſs have *thank'd* them for their black

Exploits.

Exploits; who made *London* then the *Nursery* of the *Faction*, as formerly it was the *Seminary* of the late horrid *Rebellion*: where all the wicked *Measures*, all the *illegal Votes* and *unmannerly Addresses*, that have bin since made use of within *Doors* or without, were contriv'd and hammer'd by *Factious Clubs* and *Cabals*, several Months before the *Parliament* sate, and divers *Copies* distributed among the *Leading men*; whereof the late *King* had a full account given him by a *Gentleman* that seem'd to be of the *Gang*, but was so honest as to let his *Majesty* know the whole *Mystery* of *Iniquity*. In fine, so *Insolent* they were, and so *Violent* against the *Monarchy*, that it was impossible for the *King* to be at ease, or the *Nation* at quiet, while such *Incendiaries* without, to back the *Associators* within *Doors*, had the *management* of the *Capital City*, which in effect is the *Rudder* of the whole *Kingdom*; And therefore all his *Majesties* other endeavours to get the better of the *Faction*, as his now Proroguing, then dissolving his *Parliaments*, (whereby instead of *mending* they became still more *furious* at their next Meeting) signified no more than *Hercules* in the *Fable* now and then cutting off one of *Hydra*'s Heads, which grew *double* as often as cut off. But when the *King*, having tryed in vain all other *Expedients*, seiz'd upon the *Charter* of *London*, which they had forfeited over and over; then, and not till then, he gain'd a compleat Victory, and with that *single blow* cut off all the heads of the *Monster*.

Now the *Associators* finding the *Fanaticks* in *London* so active and so *zealous* in the *Cause*, 'twas no wonder if in *return* they made bold a little to stretch both the *Law* and the *Gospel*, to oblige such useful and necessary *Tools*; especially when they cou'd ease their *Friends*, and run down their *Enemies* with the same *Breath*: And therefore 'tis wisely

Resolved, that it is the Opinion of this House, that the City of London *was burnt in the year* 1666 *by the Papists, designing thereby to introduce Arbitrary Power and Popery into this Kingdom. Votes* 10. Jan. 1680.

For it was well known, the *Fanaticks* were shrewdly suspected of this horrid *Crime*, six of them having confess'd the *Design* at the

the place of *Execution*, and nam'd the time within a day, near upon five Months before it happen'd; as may be ſeen in the *Gazette* 26. of *April* 66. *Nero's Policy* therefore muſt be us'd, to turn it another way, and the *Wicked* ſuffer for the Sins of the *Godly*; tho' not out of any hatred either to the worſt *Principles* or *Practices*, that ever the *Papiſts* were accus'd of, but meerly to make them a *Stalking-Horſe*, the better to come at their own *Game*. The *Gentlemen* certainly were true *Friends* indeed, who to hide the *Knavery* of their *Party*, generouſly ventur'd to expoſe their own *Folly* to the *World*. What *rational connection*, I pray, can we find between the *burning* of *London* and the *introducing* of *Popery*, or between that and *Arbitrary Power*? As if the *Papiſts* made *Slavery* a piece of their *Religion*, to whoſe *Care* and *Prudence*, as *Freeborn Engliſhmen*, we owe all our *Fundamental Rights* and *Priviledges*, and even the moſt excellent *Conſtitution of Parliaments*. Yet ſuppoſe, the *Papiſts* were ſuch Fools, (as certainly they muſt be the meereſt *Ideots* upon Earth, or they are baſely belyed) as to prefer *Slavery* to *Liberty*, and think that horrid *Conflagration* ſerviceable to their *purpoſe*; how came they to miſs of the *End*, at leaſt not to puſh for't, ſince they ſped ſo well, even beyond all *Expectation*, in the *Means* they propos'd? Where lay their *Money* in *Bank*, or their *Men* in readineſs? Who oppos'd this formidable *Army*, or how came they to vaniſh without doing ſome *Execution*.? But enough of this *ridiculous*, *Nonſenſical Stuff*, contriv'd by *Knaves*, and believ'd by *Fools*, and moſt unluckily *Canoniz'd* at laſt in St. *Stephens Chappel*, to the everlaſting *Shame* of the *Authors*.

As for their intended *kindneſs* to the *D.* of *M.* which really turn'd to his *Diſadvantage*, to have ſuch *Mediators* as wanted *Mediators* and *Pardons* for themſelves, to get him reſtor'd to his former *Places* and *Imployments*, it was grounded upon the ſame *Foundation* with the former. They wheedled the *Poor Man*, to ſerve their own *Ends*, from his *Duty* and all worldly *Happineſs*, with the *Chimerical Hopes* of a *Crown*, which he had neither *Right* to Enjoy, nor *Brains* to Support; and being in *Law* but *Filius Populi*, they made him *Don Popolario* to his Ruine. For 'tis alwaies obſerv'd, that the *Devil owes the Fool a ſpite, when he makes him a Politician*.

Thus our *Aſſociators*, like the *Old Dragon* in the *Revelation*,

having great Wrath, becauſe they knew they had but a ſhort time, labour'd to make the beſt of it they cou'd for their *Purpoſe*; and therefore ceas'd not to ſpit their *Venom* on all ſides to oblige their *Friends*, and revenge themſelves on their *Enemies*: For tho' they expected every *moment* the pale *Meſſenger* of *Death*; yet like true *Cargilites* they continued to the very laſt minute *blaſpheming* againſt the *Government*. But the *Fatal* Hour is come at length, and the *Hoggen Moggen*, who acted as if they had the ſame *Commiſſion* with the *Prophet Jeremiah*, whom God *had ſet over Nations, and over Kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to ſpoil and to deſtroy, and to build, and to plant*; nevertheleſs with the leaſt *Blaſt* of their *Princes* breath, they preſently gave up the *Ghoſt*, and moulder'd away into nothing.

Jer. 1. 10.

But the *King*, whom no *Irregularities* in *Parliament* cou'd put out of Love with ſo good and wholſome a *Conſtitution*, and the neceſſities of the *Kingdom* then requiring it, to quiet, if *poſſible*, the Minds of the *diſtracted People*, upon the *Diſſolution* of the former, iſſued out new *Summons* for calling *another*: Yet conſidering that for ſome years before, the *Faction* in the *Houſe* of *Commons*, and their *Agents* in *London*, went hand in hand, ſupporting and encouraging each other, to the great *prejudice* of the *Publick*, he reſolv'd for once to try their *Humor* at *Oxford*; where notwithſtanding all the *Endeavours* of the *Fanaticks*, while they rul'd the *Roaſt* in that Ancient and Famous *Nurſery* of *Learning*, during the late *Uſurpation*, to corrupt the young *Collegians* with the old *Leaven*, *Religion* and *Loyalty* were ſtill triumphant.

The *Faction* quickly apprehending the *Diſadvantages* they ſhou'd lie under, near ſo *Learned*, and ſo *Loyal* an *Univerſity*, where their *Shams* wou'd not take, nor their *Practices* bear *Water*; where they ſhou'd want their *Cabals* to prepare *Schemes*, and the unruly *Rabble* to make a *Noiſe*, immediately put their Heads together to divert this, as to them, moſt *Fatal Reſolution*. And having drawn up an *Unmannerly* ſort of a *Petition*, not ſo much *Praying* as *Threatning* the *King* with the ill Conſequences of removing his *Parliament* from *London*; which they got ſign'd by as many *Lords* as they cou'd get of their *Gang*, to the number of *Sixteen*, they pitch'd upon the unhappy *Earl* of *Eſſex* to preſent it to his *Majeſty*; who chearfully undertook the *Province*,

that

that he might ſeem the *Ringleader* of the *Party*, and uſher'd it in with a moſt *Impertinent Harangue* *which they had *prepar'd* for him upon that *Occaſion*. But the *King* was too *Wiſe* to be impos'd upon by ſuch Men; whom he knew ſo well, that their *Petition*, inſtead of working any *Change*, confirm'd him in his former *Purpoſe*; and therefore the *Petitioners* were diſmiſs'd without any further *Satisfaction*.

*25. Jan. 1680.

This unexpected *Repulſe* put the *Faction* to ſome *Stand*; yet having no other *Remedy*, they got the *Speech* and *Petition* immediatly printed, by way of *Appeal*, as their *Cuſtom* was, to the *Multitude*; but in few days after, the chief *Heads* of both were briefly confuted by an honeſt *Gentleman*, whoſe *Anſwer*, you tell me, never came to your hands; and therefore becauſe *Loyal* and *Short*, and withal ſomewhat *Prophetical*, as to that unfortunate *Earl*, I will here inſert for your *Peruſal*.

My Lord.

"THo' the great *Eſteem* I have always had as well for your "*Lordſhips Parts* and *Prudence*, as your *Fathers Loy-*"*alty*, inclines me to make a favourable Conſtruction of your "*Words* and *Actions*; yet the late *Speech*, and *Petition* pub-"liſh'd under your *Name*, are of ſo ſtrange a nature, and of ſo "ill an aſpect in our preſent *Circumſtances*, that I cannot but ac-"quaint you with my *Thoughts* upon that unſeaſonable *Subject*; "wherein did I not ſee my *Soveraign* ſo nearly concern'd, that "many do conſtrue, this was not ſo much *Petitioning*, as *Threat-*"*ning* his *Sacred Majeſty*, I wou'd have ſilently paſs'd it over, and "buried my *Reſentments* in Oblivion.

" I am ſorry, *my Lord*, you begin with ſo weak an *Obſer-*"*vation* from *Hiſtories* and *Records*, as that many *Parliaments* "have been unfortunate when call'd at Places remote from the "*Capital City*. Did you ever obſerve how unfortunate many have "been, when call'd in this *Capital City*; or how many have been "unfortunate, when elſewhere conven'd? Do not all *Writers* of "the *late Rebellion* obſerve it a great *overſight* in our *Royal* "*Martyr*, not to have call'd his long *Parliament* to *York*, or "ſome other Place, remote from *London*; where ſo many *Facti-*"*ous Cabals* were conſtantly held, and ſo many Pernicious *Con-*"*trivances* daily hammer'd, beſides the *Rabbles tumultuous* run-

"ning to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the *Common Councils* petitioning, "or rather adviſing his *Majeſty*, (*Mechanicks* turning *Politicians*, "and leaving their *Shops* and *Trade*, to ſit at the *Helm* of Go"*vernment*) that all wiſe men conclude, thence came the *Plague* "of *War* and *Deſolation* upon the whole *Kingdom*?

"But your *Obſervation* is not ſo *weak*, as your *Preſidents* are "*Emphatical* and *Myſterious*. You inſtance three unhappy *Kings*, "and without the leaſt *ground* in *Hiſtory*, you ſeem to ſuppoſe "the Places of calling their *Parliaments*, the Cauſe of their *Miſ*"*carriages*. I am ſure, *my Lord*, you know the contrary is "manifeſt by our moſt Authentick *Monuments* and *Records*. To "*Popular Fears* and *Jealouſies*, fomented by *Ambitious* and *Diſ*"*contented Grandees* and *pretended Patriots*, theſe, as moſt *Prin*"*ces* in *general*, ow'd all their troubles and calamities; as now "we do in a great *Proportion*.

"To theſe *Henry* II. by you mention'd, ow'd the *unnatural* "*Broils* and *Diſtractions* of his *Kingdom*, when they and *Lewis* the "VII. *King* of *France*, to make the Caſe the more *Parallel*, in"cited the *Son* to rebell againſt the *Father*; in which never"theleſs they were thus far more *excuſable* than *others*, that "the *Son* was no *Baſtard*, but the undoubted *Heir* of the *Crown*, "and a *titular King*.

"Theſe were in like manner the chief Cauſe of all the *Miſ*"*chiefs* and *Miſeryes* of *Henry* the *Third*'s *Reign*, when under "the Colour of redreſſing the *Peoples Grievances*, they brought "upon the *Nation* the greateſt *Grievance* of all, an Inteſtine "*Civil War* for many years together: And tho' they loud"ly pretended to fight for the Liberty of the *Subject*, yet "themſelves were no better than ſo many *Tyrants*; as anci"ent and modern *Authors* have obſerv'd. *Baker* p. 86.

"As for *Henry* VI. his *Fate* was the *Conſequence* of his *Grand*"*fathers Uſurpation*; for *De male quæſitis vix gaudet tertius Hæ*"*res*. The People at laſt weary of their *Change*, began to open "their *Eyes*, and think it better to ſubmit to their *Lawful Prince*, "than to a *violent Uſurper*. Nevertheleſs this Revolution cou'd "not have been effected but with a great deal of difficulty, "had not a gap been open'd by the *Ambition* of wicked *States*"*men*, who to have the ſole *Management* of *Affairs* to them"ſelves, contriv'd the death of the *Kings Uncle*, and only *Sup*-

"*pont*, the *Good Duke* of *Glouceſter*; as now ſome conſpire a-
"gainſt *His Royal Highneſs*, the better to enable themſelves
"to diſpoſe of the *King* as they pleaſe.

"Theſe are the chief *Heads* of your unſeaſonable *Speech*,
"but your *Petition* runs a little further. In the firſt place you
"aggravate the *Dangers* of *Popery*, of which all true *Proteſtants*
"are ſufficiently *Apprehenſive*; yet withal, *my Lord*, we are too
"ſenſible the *Papiſts* are not our only *Enemies*. We have whole
"Swarms of *ungovernable Sectaries*, and *Republicans* in great
"numbers, that ſeem to hate the *Name*, but in themſelves love
"the *Practice* of *Arbitrary Power*; that pretend to ſtand for
"the *Church* of *England*, but really advance *Preſbytery*; Infine,
"that wou'd fain perſwade us they are great *Lovers* of the *King*,
"tho' by their *Actions* we may eaſily ſee, they care but little
"for his *Government*.

"You are troubl'd it ſeems, that the next *Parliament* is to
"meet at *Oxford*, *where* (you ſay) *neither Lords nor Commons*
"*can be in ſafety, but will be daily expos'd to the Swords of the*
"*Papiſts, and their Adherents; of whom too many have crept in-*
"*to his Majeſties Guards.* Do you know, *my Lord*, of any ſuch
"*Papiſts* now in the *Guards*? If you do, 'tis your Duty to your
"*King* and *Country* to have them ſecur'd: If not, 'tis a ground-
"leſs *Surmiſe*, and a very frivolous *Pretence*, unfit to be menti-
"on'd by Perſons of *Honour*. Certain it is, we have more rea-
"ſon to believe ſuch unſeaſonable *Petitioners* are addicted to
"*Preſbytery*, than his *Majeſties Guards* inclin'd to *Popery*: For
"the later do openly proteſt againſt the *Papiſts*, have often ta-
"ken *Teſts* and *Oaths* againſt that *Religion*; but the former are
"*zealous Solicitors* for the *Fanaticks*, and endeavour to unite
"them to the *Church* of *England*, not by their coming to us,
"but ours to them, we loſeing our own *Ground*, and they ſtill
"keeping theirs. But to wave this, if his *Majeſty* thinks himſelf
"ſafe at *Oxford*, and doubts not to commit his *Sacred Perſon*
"to his *Guards*, what Reaſon have you to apprehend any *Dan-*
"*ger*? Sure, 'tis his *Majeſties death*, not yours, the *Papiſts* have
"hitherto deſign'd: How then can you be ſo *Apprehenſive*, while
"he is *ſecure*?

"As for the *Kings Evidence*, I doubt not but they will chear-
"fully endure a little *Inconvenience*, to make an end of this

"*Execrable*

" *Execrable Plot.* 'Tis an advantage moſt of them have, that " they have bin brought up and us'd to *want* and *hardſhip*; which " now, I am confident, they will not decline, to conſummate " the great *Work* they have ſo well begun.

" My Lord, I wiſh as heartily as any man in *England*, the fre- " quent Meetings of *Parliaments*, and the good *Correſpondence* of " *Prince* and *People*. I am perhaps as much concern'd as ano- " ther, to have the *Liberty* of the *Subject* preſerv'd inviolable. " Yet when I ſee thoſe, that ſhou'd be the Preſervers of this *Liber-* " *ty*, firſt invade it, and endeavour to *Monopolize Arbitrary Power* " to *themſelves*, I think *ſelf-preſervation* allows me to oppoſe " them. 'Tis a true ſaying, *Corruptio optimi peſſima*, and experi- " ence tells us, that *Parliaments may err as well as Kings.*

" I will Conclude with a ſhort *Reflection* on ſome Tranſactions " preceding the *long Parliament* in the late *King*'s *Reign*; where 'tis " obſervable, that his *Majeſty* finding his *Parliaments* ſtill *Retrograde*, " and bent rather to foment than compoſe the *Differences* of the " *Kingdom*, in *September* 40. He ſummon'd the *Great Council* of his " *Peers*, to conſult about the weighty *Affairs* of the *Nation*: *But this* " (ſaith a late *Hiſtorian*) *was not very well lik'd of by thoſe who favour'd* " *the Scots, whoſe chief Deſign aim'd at the calling of a Parliament, which* " *they fear'd the meeting of the Peers might prevent. Wherefore the* " *Earls of* Bedford, Hertford, Eſſex, Warwick, Mouldgrave, Bul- " lingbrook *and* Briſtol, *and the Lords* Say, Brook, Paget, Mande- " vile, *and the Lord* Edward Howard, *preſented a Petition to the* " *King, repreſenting many great Diſtempers and Dangers, threatning* " *the Church and State, and his Royal Perſon; as Sundry Innovations* " *in Matters of Religion; increaſe of Popery, by employing Papiſts in* " *places of Truſt; the great Miſchief that might enſue, if the Forces* " *rais'd in* Ireland *ſhou'd be brought into* England, &c. *For Remedy* " *whereof, they pray, that a Parliament might be Summoned, to redreſs theſe* " *Grievances, and puniſh the Authors; and likewiſe to compoſe the War* " *with* Scotland *without Blood, and unite both Kingdoms againſt the* " *Common Enemy of the Reformed Religion.* And this was ſeconded by " another *Petition* to the ſame Effect, from their *Common Hackney*, " *the Common Council* of *London.* See Baker p. 470.

" Theſe, *my Lord*, were as fair *pretences*, and as plauſible *In-* " *ducements* to have a *Parliament* then call'd, as any you can offer " at preſent for the Meeting of the next in *London*; and yet the

" *World*

" *World* knows what pernicious *Designs* were then a *hatching* " againſt the *King* and *Government* by thoſe very *Perſons* who " promoted that *Petition*: and happy had his Majeſty and the " whole *Nation* bin, had he rejected their *Importunity*. *To every* " *thing there is a Seaſon*, ſaith the *Wiſe Man*; and without doubt " there is a *Seaſon* for *Petitioning*. 'Tis certainly our *Duty*, with " all *Humility* to beg of our *Soveraign* what we think *neceſſary* " for the *Publick*; but to preſs him to it, when he declares againſt " it, for good *Reaſons* as we ought in good manners to ſuppoſe, is a " very great *Preſumption*, not to be endur'd in a *Subject*. If the *Laws* " have ſettled in the *King* the abſolute *Power* of *Calling*, *Adjourning*, " *Proroguing* and *Diſſolving* his *Parliaments*, when and where he " pleaſes, ſhall we be Wiſer than the * *Laws*, " and Limit our *Princes* Will, or queſtion his *Prerogative*?

* *Neminem oportet Sapientiorem eſſe Legibus.* Cook.

" *In Fine*, when *Diſcontented Statesmen* are found the *Promoters* of ſuch *Petitions*, 'tis *Natural* to ſuſpect they do it for ſome " Sinister *Deſign*; *Timeo Danaos & dona ferentes*. If the great *Politician Achitophel* hang'd himſelf through diſcontent, becauſe his " *Counſel* was not follow'd, we cannot in *Prudence* but think others " will leave no *Stone* unturn'd to gratify their *Paſſion*. There are " ſome *Weathercocks* in the *World*, who had a hand in all the *Revolutions* of their time, *modo harum, modo illarum partium*, but " never *Faithful* to any; if Your *Lordſhip* be ſo far overſeen, as " to joyn with *Thoſe*, they will cetainly leave you in the *Lurch*, " when 'tis too *Late* to Repent. Therefore in time conſider the " *Wiſe Man*'s Advice: *My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and Meddle not with them that are given to Change; for their Calamity ſhall riſe ſuddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both.* " Prov. 24. 21.

28 *Jan.* 168½. *I am Yours* &c.

Now if we compare the laſt *Paragraph* of this *Letter* with the *Fatal End* of that *unhappy Earl*, we ſhall find the *Prediction* verified to a Hair, and the *Gentleman's Conjectures* turn'd in a manner into a *Prophecy*. The *Poor Man* found at laſt to his *Sorrow*, he was left in the *Lurch* by Crooked *Achitophel*, when it was indeed *too late to Repent*; and therefore out of *Remorſe* of *Conſcience*, and deep *Deſpair*, for the *baſeneſs* of his *Crimes* againſt his *Soveraign*, rendred

yet

yet more *odious* with the *blackeſt* of *Ingratitudes*, in conſpiring the Death of his *Prince* that heap'd ſo many favours upon him, and in a great meaſure rais'd him from *Nothing*; notwithſtanding all his *Pretended Zeal* for *Religion*, he was yet ſo *Irreligious* and *Wicked*, as to lay *violent hands* upon himſelf.

But enough of this ungrateful Subject; and now let us obſerve a little the *Motions* of that *Abortive Parliament* at *Oxford*, whither the *Leading Members* are conducted, as it were in *Triumph*, by Formidable Bodies of the *Faction*, to ſtrike Terror into all their *Oppoſers*. The many Foils and diſappointments they receiv'd in the Preceding *Parliaments*, were ſo far from bringing them to any *Calmneſs* or Moderation, that now they are reſolv'd with greater *Heat* and *Violence* than ever, to purſue their former Deſigns. In the *Weſtminſter Parliament*, tho' they made bold to inſert in one of their *Bills* a *Clauſe* for repealing the *Statutes** *de Scandalis Magnatum*, thereby to bring the *Lords* upon an even *Level* with themſelves; and to Vote ſeveral *Peers*, without any Tryal or Conviction, * *Enemies to the King and Kingdom*, for adviſing his *Majeſty* againſt the *Bill* of *Excluſion*: Yet they were ſo *modeſt*, as not to declare againſt the whole *Houſe*, notwithſtanding that his *Majeſty* had told them in his *Meſſage* ſome daies before, * *He was confirm'd in his Opinion againſt the Bill of Excluſion by the Judgment of the Houſe of Lords, who rejected it.* But here we find them of a *Braver Spirit*, *fit to bind Kings in Chains, and Nobles in Fetters of Iron*: And therefore when the *Lords*, according to the known *Laws* of the *Land*, rejected their contrivance of *impeaching Fitzharris*, and referr'd him to be Tryed at *Common Law*, they like *bold Brittons*, charg'd the *whole Houſe* of *Peers* with the higheſt *Violation* of *Juſtice* imaginable: And

* *Votes* 16 Dec. 1680.

* 7 *Jan.* 1680.

* 4 *Jan.* 1680.

Reſolved, That it is the undoubted Right of the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, to impeach before the Lords any Peer or Commoner for Treaſon, or any other Crime or Miſdemeanour. And that the refuſal of the Lords to proceed in Parliament upon ſuch Impeachment, is a denial of Juſtice, and a violation of the Conſtitution of Parliaments. *Votes* 26 March 1681.

But I wiſh the *Gentlemen* had bin ſo juſt to themſelves, as to

have

have told us, What *Grounds* they proceeded upon in this particular, in Caſe they had any, beſides their *unaccountable Nemine Contradicente.* I am ſure, if we underſtand the *great Charter* of our *Liberties*, and the *Fundamental Birthright* of every *Commoner*, to be Tryed by *Juries* in all *Capital Crimes*, where the *Criminal* is allow'd to make divers *Peremptory Challenges*, and as many more as he can ſhew *Cauſe*, 'tis moſt undoubted, nothing cou'd have been more *Illegal* than the *Impeachment* of *Fitzharris*, nothing more *unwarrantable* than this very *Reſolve.* Beſides 'tis well known, that in the 4*th* Year of *Ed.* 3. after the *Lords* had been prevail'd upon to give *Judgment* on Sir *Simon de Bereford* and ſeveral other *Commoners*, for the *Murder* of *Ed.* 2. and his *Brother* the *Earl* of *Kent*, there is an expreſs *Proviſo* ſtill extant upon *Record*, that the *Lords* ſhou'd not for the future be oblig'd to judge any but their *Peers.*

And it is aſſented and accorded by our Lord the King, and all the Grandees in full Parliament; that albeit the Peers, as Judges of the Parliament, have taken upon them, and rendred Judgment, &c. *That yet the ſaid Peers, who now are, or ſhall be in time to come, be not bound or charged to render Judgments upon others than their Peers. Nor that the Peers of the Land have POWER to do this, but thereof ever to be diſcharged and acquitted: And that the aforeſaid Judgment rendred be not drawn to Example or Conſequence in time to come, whereby the ſaid* Peers ſhall do contrary to the Laws of the Land, *if the like caſe happen, which God forbid.* 4 Ed. 3. N. 6. *And purſuant to this Proviſo, when Sir* William Cogan *was accus'd in* Parliament *by Sir* Richard Clevedon, 5 R. 2. *N.* 43 and 44. *the* Lords *having heard the* Cauſe, *remitted both* Parties *to the* Common-Law.

Where then is the *undoubted Right* of the *Commons* to impeach, or what *Law* or *Statute* can *warrant* their impoſing upon the *Lords* to judge whom they pleaſe, contrary to ſuch expreſs *Acts* of *Parliament*? Or what cou'd be their *Reaſon* to be ſo much concern'd for *Fitzharris*, a *profeſs'd Papiſt*, but to delay his Trial, when after *Impeachment* he cou'd not be brought to *Juſtice* but at their Suit, that by aſſuring him his *Life*, they might force him to pretend ſome new *Diſcoveries*, to breed more *Confuſion*? They knew very well the Man had nothing to diſ-

cover but his own *Villanous Inventions*, which he purpoſely contriv'd to ſave his Neck from the *Gallows*, charging himſelf with new *Crimes*, to avoid the puniſhment of the old. And Sir *R. C.* one of his Godfathers in *Newgate* made it plain enough, when he told the *Houſe* at *Oxford*, *Fitzharris* ask'd him, *whether he had not ſaid enough to ſave his Life?* But ſtill it was the ſame thing to them, *Plots true or falſe* wou'd equally ſerve their turn; or rather falſe ones wou'd be more *Uſeful*, becauſe they cou'd turn them which way they pleas'd: And therefore to the very laſt they us'd all their *Arts* and *Endeavours* to bring him off, *Right* or *Wrong*, and to frighten the *Judges* from their *Duty*, they paſs'd the following *Vote*;

Debates. p. 6.

Reſolved, that for any Inferiour Court to proceed againſt Edward Fitzharris, *or any other Perſon lying under an Impeachment in Parliament, for the ſame crimes for which he or they ſtand Impeached, is an high breach of the priviledge of Parliament. Votes 26. March* 81.

Sure theſe *Gentlemen* dreamt they were gone back to 41. and made *perpetual Dictators*, that they offer'd at this Rate to impoſe their wild *Ordinances* upon the *Nation*, in oppoſition to the *fundamental Laws* of the *Land*. 'Tis pity his *Majeſty* did not ſuffer them to ſit a little longer, that we might have more of ſuch *edifying Reſolutions*. And I wonder how cou'd *Prince* or *People* be weary of ſo *obliging* a *Houſe* of *Commons*, who labour'd with a great deal of *Pains* and *Induſtry*, to imitate *Chriſt's* ſaying in the *Revelation*, *Behold I make all things new*, Rev. 21. 5. *New Laws*, *new Religions*, and many *new* frames of *Government*, might we be aſſur'd of by this time, had not the *Almighty* ſeen their *Predeceſſors*, the *Rebellious Long-Parliament*, had given us too much of thoſe *Bleſſings*. If *Caligula* ſuck'd blood when a *Child*, what cou'd *People* hope from him when a *Man*? And if the *Faction* at *Oxford* arriv'd in ſix *days* time to that *height* of *Inſolence*, as the *Commons* in 41. did not come near in ſix *months*, what a happy *Reformation* might we expect, had they alſo been made *perpetual*. But they liv'd too faſt to live long, and notwithſtanding this *extravagant Vote*, with the terrible *Bugbear* in the Belly on't, the *priviledge* of *Parliament*, which had formerly

ly ſunk both *Law* and *Goſpel*, *Fitzharris* was brought to *Juſtice*, and diſcover'd at the place of *Execution* both his *Own* and his *Patrons* villany.

'Tis obſervable that in K. *James* 1. his time the *bloody Traytors* concern'd in the *Gun-powder Treaſon*, were all tryed and convicted by the courſe of the *Common Law*; and tho' the *Parliament* was then ſitting, and the *Deſign* level'd as much againſt them, as againſt the *King* and *Royal Family*, yet not one of them did the *Commons* offer to impeach; neither is it to be imagin'd, that ſo wiſe a *Prince*, and ſo great a *Maſter* of *Kings-craft*, wou'd have ſuffer'd them to meddle with any of his *Priſoners*, ſince he did not allow them to take the leaſt *cognizance* of the whole matter, where the *Inferiour Courts* had *power* to proceed. No *voting* of *Plots* was then in faſhion, no *examining* of *Witneſſes* by *Secret Committees* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, no ſuing of *Pardons* or *Rewards* for mercenary needy *Informers*, as we have had of late days, to carry on the moſt uncouth ill-ſhap'd *Monſter*, that ever appear'd in *Nature*. All was calmly examin'd, and judicially determin'd in the ordinary *Courts* of *Juſtice* without any further *Appeal*.

And many are of *Opinion*, it wou'd have been very much for the *Honour* and *Wellfare* of the *Nation*, had the late *King* taken the like *method* in the *proſecution* of *Oates* his *Popiſh* Plot, which wou'd have prevented the *diſtractions* of his *People*, and wholly defeated the *deſigns* of his *Enemies*; who no ſooner got the *management* of that *ridiculous Stuff* into their hands, but they improv'd it every day more and more to his *Majeſties* diſadvantage, ſtill grafting *new Plots* on the *old Stock*, to keep the *People* in a *continual ferment*, till the *grand Plot* appear'd at laſt, which had not *Providence* miraculuoſly prevented, wou'd have certainly prov'd the *Ruine* both of *King* and *Kingdom*. And who, I pray, were the *Ringleaders* of this horrid *Conſpiracy*, but the great *Dictators* of the *Faction*, and the noiſy *Aſſertors* of our *Religion* and *Liberty* in thoſe two *Parliaments*? where, as we are ſince convinc'd, our true *Proteſtant Patriots* made all this buſtle about the *Popiſh Plot* for no other end, but that they might under the *Umbrage* of that, carry on their *own undiſcover'd*. Well might they cry his *Majeſties Life* was ſtill in *Danger*, who beſt knew what *Helliſh Machinations* they had on foot againſt his

Sacred Perſon, which yet they labour'd with a great deal of Art and Cunning to throw upon the *Papiſts*, on whom they had already voted * *in caſe the King ſhou'd come by any violent Death, they wou'd revenge it to the utmoſt*, tho' none more likely to act it than ſome of themſelves, as ſoon afterwards appear'd. For, when they perceiv'd that neither their *illegal Votes*, nor *inſolent Addreſſes*, nor all their other *Arts* and *Contrivances* cou'd prevail with the *King* to lay his *Crown* at their feet; and found moreover, that the main *body* of the *Faction*, their *Friends* in *London*, whoſe *Purſes* and *Conſciences* they always had at their *Devotion*, were upon declining, and like to looſe the *Charter* they had ſo vigorouſly made uſe of againſt the *Giver*: then they thought it *high time* to beſtir themſelves, and try ſince nothing elſe was like to ſucceed, what cou'd *Sword* and *Blunderbuſs* do.

*Votes 2. Nov. 80.

This was the *Plot* indeed, and the well-contriv'd *Deſign*, where no *Art* was wanting to ſecure the ſucceſs, no *Power* but *Providence* able to defeat it. The *Common People* were already mannag'd to ſome purpoſe, the *Knaves* prepar'd for executing any Villany, and the *well-meaning Fools* kept ſtill gaping after the *ridiculous Contrivances* of the *Papiſts*, which if compar'd to this, will ſeem but a meer *Phantome* or *Shadow*: For their forty Thouſand *Black Bills*, their *Screw'd Guns* and *Silver Bullets*, their *Spaniſh Pilgrims* and *Iriſh Auxiliaries*, their *White-Horſe Conſult* and *D' Oliva's Commiſſions*, and *in fine*, the whole frame of that *Bears Cub*, is no more than a *Childiſh piece* of *Pageantry*, in compariſon of the late *Conſpirators* methodical *Attacques* upon the *Government*; as their *ſeditious Petitions* and *factious Addreſſes*, their *riotous Elections* and *perjur'd Ignoramus's* their *Anti-Monarchical Bill* of *Excluſion* and *treaſonable Project* of *Aſſociation*, and to crown the Work, their *Council* of *Six* and *Rye-houſe undertaking*.

The *Train* is ſo *Obvious* and *Viſible* in the *Later*, and the *Chain* ſo eaſie to be trac'd *link* by *link*, while there is but little or no *Coherence* in the *Former*, that the moſt any man in his right *Wits* can do, is to believe any *part* of the *one*, or *disbelieve* the leaſt *tittle* of the *other*.

But why ſhou'd I ſeek *knots* in *Bulruſhes*, or dwell any longer

er on a thing ſo plain? the whole *Myſtery* of *Iniquity* is ſufficiently reveal'd, and not only ſworn to by many of the *living*, but own'd and confeſs'd by the *dying Conſpirators*; Whereas we have little or nothing to ſupport the Credit of the *other*, but the bare *oaths* of a *pack* of *Jayl-birds* and the moſt notorious of *Villains*, who for their *Bread* and *Liberty* were ready to ſwear any thing, while they had a head-ſtrong *Faction* to back them, and pawn upon the *People* their *Romantick Dreams* for *new Revelations*.

Now, if at laſt we ſum up our *Accounts*, and compute our *Loſs* and *Gain* upon the whole matter, as every *prudent Man* will do even in his private *Concerns*, what is the *Nation* the better for this way of proceeding? The *Monarchy* was thereby not only brought low, but upon the very brink of *Deſtruction*; the *eſtabliſh'd Religion* defam'd, and the *Orthodox Clergy* made a *Grievance*; divers of his *Majeſties* good *Subjects* daily harraſs'd, and toſs'd from *Poſt* to *Pillar*; our *Credit* and *Reputation* loſt abroad; and our *Trade* and *Commerce* in a manner ruin'd: And all this while not one to be nam'd, that was a *Gainer* by the matter, but *ſcandalous Libellers*, *factious Newsmongers*, and *perjur'd Informers*.

This is not all, our *Parliaments*, which in former Ages were deſervedly look'd upon as the great *Phyſitians* of the *Body Politick*, (becauſe of late years the *Leading* Members in the *Houſe* of *Commons* prov'd ſuch *Quacks* and *Mountebanks*, as ſeem'd to have only the *Art* of *Killing*, but not of *Curing* any) ſuffer'd ſo much in their *Credit*, eſpecially with ſuch as are apt to throw the *Faults* of the *Profeſſors* upon the *Profeſſion*, and the *Miſcarriages* of ſome *Members* upon the whole *Conſtitution*, that many are of *Opinion*, it will be no ſmall *difficulty* for the next to *Retrieve* their *Reputation*. It grieves me to find what ſome *Ingenious* Gentlemen have obſerv'd, that of the eight, which have been ſummon'd theſe 60 years paſt, we have had but *One* that we cou'd truly call a *Loyal* or *good Parliament*. The reſt, through the *unhappy Choice* of ill *Members*, who aim'd more at their own *Ends* and *Deſigns* than the *Publick good*, ſome endeavouring by *Caballing* and *Bawling* againſt the *Government*, to get themſelves bought off with *Honours* and *Imployments*, others labouring to promote *Fanaticiſm* and turn the *Monarchy* into a *Common-Wealth*, have occaſion'd ſuch *diſtractions*,

ſuch

ſuch wild *Notions* and *Chimæra's* among the *People*, that many an honeſt man thinks he has *Reaſon* to wiſh, as the *leaſt of the two Evils*, rather to have no *Parliaments*, than to be plagued with the like for the future.

But the *Diſtemper*, I hope, is now pretty well over, and the *Nation* having had ſufficient *Experience* of the *Fatal* conſequences of *Faction* and *Sedition*, will (I doubt not) take ſuch *Meaſures* at this time, as will make the next a *healing*, *reſtoring Parliament*; ſuch as will not increaſe, but rather redreſs our Grievances, bring all the *Enemies* of the *Government* to Condign *Puniſhment*, procure and fix a good underſtanding between *Prince* and *People*, and thereby (the only *Means* to do it) *Retrieve* the *Reputation* their *Predeceſſors* have ſo unluckily loſt, to the great *Prejudice* of the *Publick*.

This is the *ſure* and *ſhort way* to our *preſent Settlement* and future Happineſs, ſo earneſtly wiſh'd for by all *Loyal Subjects*, and no leſs dreaded by the *Diſturbers* of our *Iſraels Peace*; who have therefore now all their *Engines* at work, to render this as fruitleſs as they have former *Parliaments*. The *Fanaticks* and the *Republicans*, of late turn'd *Trimmers*, as the more *Miſchievous* ſort of *Animals*, and ſuch as fancy themſelves *diſoblig'd*, or whoſe Crimes have render'd them *obnoxious* to the *Government*, who think they can have no *Safety*, at leaſt no *poſſibility* of compaſſing their *Ends*, but by our *diſorder* and *Confuſion*, now keep conſtant *Clubs* and *Cabals*, in all the *Corners* of the *Town*, to contrive ſuch *Schemes* and *Meaſures*, as they think moſt proper to fruſtrate all honeſt Mens *Expectations*, by rendring the next Seſſions ineffectual.

It has been always their *Policy* to begin with *Religion*, as the moſt *popular Topick* they can make uſe of, to engage the *unthinking Multitude* in the Cauſe, according to *Machiavel's* Rule, *Quoties vis fallere plebem, finge Deum*: Tho''tis well known, the old *Heathen Philoſophers* were far better *Chriſtians* than ſuch *noiſy Reformers* as we have had of late days, who were every *Moon* for *chopping* and *changing*, *paring* and *clipping Religion*, till they wou'd have left us none at all. It was *Eraſmus* his *Drollery*, *Quid rerum nunc geritur in Anglia? Conſulitur de Religione.* And it has been our *Misfortune* ever ſince to have been perplex'd with the ſame *Endleſs Conſultations*; till at length *Chriſtianity* it ſelf was Spirited away from among us by an *Ignis Fatuus* of an *Imaginary Religion*, and nothing

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in a manner left to the *Eſtabliſh'd Church*, that we cou'd call *Primitive*, but *Poverty* and *Perſecution*. And all this while, which was our *fatal Error*, we never conſider'd before-hand the *Lives* and *moral Actions* of thoſe *Refiners* of the *Reformation*, that we might thereby *know what ſpirit they were of*: But, as if *God* wanted the *Devils* aſſiſtance to defend his *Church*, the looſeſt *Debauchees*, and the greateſt *Hypocrites*, no ſooner pretended to ſtand up for *Religion* and *Liberty*, but they were immediately Canoniz'd by the *gaping Crowd* into *tutelar Saints* and *true Proteſtant Patriots*. Thus poor *Perkin Warbeck*, and his good natur'd *Cornudo*, to omit many *hundreds* more of the ſame *Stamp*, were cryed up for the *main Pillars* of the *Proteſtant Religion*, that ſtood in the *Gap* againſt the *Inundations* of *Popery*; tho' at the ſame time little better than *Atheiſts*, and when their *Vizards* were pull'd off, and they cou'd ſtay no longer here, then each of them thought fit, for their *Spiritual Recreation*, *to lead about a Holy Siſter* in their *Travels*, to propagate their *Goſpel* in *Foreign Countries*.

But *Expedients*, ſay they, we muſt needs have to ſecure the *Proteſtant Religion*, otherwiſe the *Nation* will be at length prevail'd upon to return from whence they came, and once more to obſerve the *Souldiers* poſture, *As you were*. I wiſh in the mean time we had an *effectual Expedient* to Cure ſome *Peoples brains* of *Maggots* and *Chimera's*, who ſeem to tremble with *fear*, where there is no *poſſibility* of *Danger*. Our *Religion*, I am ſure, is already as well ſecur'd, and as firmly eſtabliſh'd by the *Care* and *Vigilance* of our *Anceſtors*, as the *Law* is able to make it, or *human wit* can deviſe; there being ſo many ſevere *Statutes* in force againſt all its *Oppoſers*, even to the making it * *Treaſon* to *pervert* or be *perverted*, that no *Power* on Earth, but our *own folly*, can alter or deſtroy it. Beſides, to remove all *Objections*, and ſatisfie, if poſſible, the moſt *ſcrupulous* amongſt us, *His Majeſty* that now is, whoſe *Word* has ever been as *Sacred*, and as *punctually obſerv'd*, as the moſt *Solemn Laws* by any of his *Anceſtors*, was graciouſly pleas'd, upon the late *Kings* Deceaſe, to declare himſelf in *Council*, and give us this further *aſſurance*: *I ſhall make it my endeavour to preſerve this Government both in Church and State, as it is now by Law eſtabliſhed. I know the Principles of the Church of* England *are for Monarchy, and the Members of it have ſhew'd themſelves*

* 23 *Eliz.* 1. Sect. 2. & 3. *Jac.* 4. Sect. 22, 23.

ſelves Good and Loyal Subjects, therefore I ſhall always take care to defend and ſupport it.

Now if all theſe be thought *inſufficient*, what new *Expedient* can be found *able* to ſecure us? If *People* be ſo baſe as to imagine, His *Majeſty* will regard neither the *Eſtabliſh'd Laws*, nor *His Royal Word*, nor yet *His undoubted Intereſt*, to what purpoſe ſhou'd *People* dream any more of *Expedients*, ſince the *Laws* formerly made are as full and as binding, as any can be fram'd a new. Unleſs they will offer (and that to be ſure is their *aime*) to clip the *Prerogative*, which is already par'd ſo very near the *quick*, that nothing more can be parted with, without *apparent danger* to the *Monarchy*. And therefore no *honeſt man*, or which is the ſame, no true *lover* of the *Government*, will *approve* of, much leſs *promote* any thing, that may tend to a further *diminution* of it; none but ſuch as wou'd fain daſh both *Church* and *State*, one againſt the other, will offer to *weaken* the *Crown*, on *pretence* to *ſupport* the *Miter*; whereas indeed nothing can ſecure the *one*, but the *ſtrength* and *power* of the *other*, which have been always obſerv'd, like *Hyppocrates his Twins*, to *Laugh* and *Weep*, *Live* and *Dye* together.

But 'tis plain, *Religion* is not the Matter in *Queſtion*, nor *Conſcience* the *Motive* of all theſe *Frights* and *Apprehenſions*. *Worldly Intereſt* is the *Spring* that moves all the *Wheels*, and provided theſe Men of *Zeal* and *Devotion*, cou'd but ſecure in their own Hands all the *Offices* and *Employments* in the *Kingdom*, I am morally certain, they wou'd not much care what *Mode* of *Religion* ſhou'd be in *Faſhion*. For my part, tho' I have as much *reaſon* perhaps as another to wiſh, that none ſhou'd be employ'd in any conſiderable *Station* amongſt us, but the *obedient Sons* of the *Church* of *England*, and that I ſee no manner of *grounds* to fear, while the *Laws* which the *King* has been *graciouſly* pleas'd to promiſe, ſhou'd be the *Rule* of his *Government*, are ſo ſtrict and ſevere againſt all *Diſſenters*, there ſhall be any other advanc'd in this *Kingdom*; whatſoever His *Majeſty* may think fit to do, which is no buſineſs of ours, in His other *Dominions*, eſpecially in *Ireland*, where it is not only *lawfull*, but perhaps very *neceſſary* to employ ſome *Perſons* of known *Integrity*, to ballance the *Cromwellians*, and the *ungovernable Fanaticks* there, who (I am told) have rais'd themſelves from nothing to very conſiderable *Eſtates* by Fighting for *Oliver*, and

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therefore cannot eaſily forget the *Principles* nor the *Practice*, which of *Weavers*, *Coblers*, and other pitiful *Mechanicks*, made them *Eſquires*, *Knights*, and *Peers* of that *Realm*. Tho' I ſay, there is no *Moral Poſſibility* of any others being preſer'd here, but ſuch as will, at leaſt *ſeemingly* conform according to *Law*; yet to give you my own thoughts upon that Point, I muſt tell you, that as I have been always of *Opinion*, that *Honeſty* is not only the beſt *Policy*, but the beſt *Religion*, it being confeſs'd by all, that *the Honeſt Man only goes to Heaven*; and as it cannot enter into my Head, how it is *poſſible* for any to be really *ſolicitous* about *Religion*, that practiſes nothing of it in his *Life* or *Converſation*: So I cou'd never yet be induc'd to *believe*, it was the *Intereſt* either of *Church* or *State* to make an *outward Profeſſion* of the *eſtabliſh'd Religion* a *neceſſary ſtep* to *Preferment*. That indeed with the *Practice* and other *Endowments* muſt be always exacted in *Spiritual Promotions*; but *Merit* only and *good Services* to the *Crown* ſhou'd, in my Opinion, be thought enough to recommend *Candidates* to *Civil* or *Military Imployments*. And as it is *Demonſtrable*, the *Monarchy* has been very much weakn'd, by making that the *Standard* of the *Princes* favour, which neither *King* nor *Kingdom* were a *Straw* the better for; ſo 'tis plain the *Church* ſuffer'd extremly by the acceſſion of *thouſands* of *Atheiſts* and *profane Libertines*, who pretended to be of her *Communion* for no other *Reaſon*, but to qualify themſelves for *Offices* and *Preferments*; by which means, beſides the *Opportunity* given to ſuch *ill men* to execute any *Villany* upon an occaſion, to the great *hazard* of the *State*, many a *well-meaning Chriſtian* was very much *ſcandaliz'd*, and a *Gap* open'd to her *Enemies* to throw all the dirt they cou'd upon the *moſt primitive Reform'd Church* in the *World*. 'Tis certainly an odd ſort of *Policy*, to exclude one that ſignaliz'd his *Ability* and his *Loyalty* to the *Crown*, for ſome *differences* in *Religious Opinions*, own'd even by ourſelves *unneceſſary to Salvation*; and prefer another that never gave any one *Inſtance* of either, becauſe he makes no *Conſcience* of taking, nor will perhaps of *breaking*, any *Teſt* or *Oath* that is tender'd him.

We ſee the *Politick French Monarch*, tho' *Himſelf* and the *Generality* of his *People* are *zealous Papiſts*, do nevertheleſs prefer

ſuch of his *Proteſtant Subjects* as he finds deſerving, to places of *Truſt* and *Profit*, ſends them *Envoys* and *Ambaſſadors* to his *neighbouring Princes*, makes them *Captains* and *Colonels* in his *Army*, and raiſes them by degrees according to their *Honeſty* and *Capacity*, as appears by Monſieur *Schomberg*, whom tho' a *zealous Proteſtant*, he made *Mareſchal* of *France*, and conſequently *General* in his turn, one of the *higheſt Stations* and of the *greateſt Truſt* in his whole *Kingdom*. Neither can the *French Papiſts* be offended at the Advancement of any ſuch, when they conſider 'tis but *Equity* and the *undoubted Right* of the *Subject*; becauſe that part of *political Juſtice*, which is call'd *Diſtributive*, always makes it a *due Debt* upon the *Prince* to reward his *Subjects* according to their *Deſerts*, as the *Vindicative part* does oblige him on the other ſide to puniſh *Offenders* according to their *Demerits*; with this only *Difference*, that he can with much better *Conſcience forgive* the one, than *forget* the other.

Beſides, when a *Prince* has ſeveral *Factions*, whether *Religious* or *Civil* in his *Dominions*, as *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*, *Guelph* and *Gibelline*, which he cannot eaſily reconcile, 'tis his *Intereſt*, by employing them indifferently according to their *Parts* and *Loyalty*, to keep the *Ballance* in an equal *Libration*; that while they are at enmity amongſt themſelves, they ſhall have no *Averſion* to him, who impartially rewards them in proportion to their *Deſerts*: which muſt needs create ſuch an *Emulation* betwixt his *Subjects*, that they will ſtrive to outdo each other to ſerve their *Prince*, to the great *Advantage* of the *Publick*; and every one, inſtead of depending on the *idle Intereſt* of his *Party*, will endeavour to lay a better and a more uſeful *Foundation*, that of his own *Merit*, to raiſe him to *Preferment*. Whereas the contrary Practice will ſlacken the *Hearts* and *Hands* of many an *able Subject*, who thinking themſelves oblig'd in *Honour* not to quit their *Party*, and perhaps in *Conſcience* alſo not to change their Perſwaſion for *Worldly Intereſt*; if they find they are upon that account uncapable of a due *Encouragement*, they will be *remiſs* in promoting their *Princes ſervice*: For it is always obſerv'd, that *Honour and Reward are the great Motives to Zeal and Diligence for the Publick*; few being now-a-days of the old *Philoſophers* temper, to

to love *Vertue* for it self; and therefore the *Poet* was very much in the Right, when he said, *Quis enim Virtutem amplectitur ipsam, Præmia si tollas?*

Ay, sayes one, but if that were once allow'd, the Protestant Religion wou'd soon decay, and People turn Papists, in great Numbers. A good riddance of them, say I; for 'tis plain nothing cou'd be more the *Interest* of the *Establish'd Church*, than to be quit of all her *Counterfeit Members*, who follow *Christ for the Loaves*; because *of all Enemies the pretended Friend is the most dangerous.* Since therefore * no *True* or *Real Protestant*, none but *Libertines* and *dissembling Conformists* wou'd desert the *Churches Communion* in the Case suppos'd; where is the *Harm*, if that *Temptation* were remov'd, and the wither'd unprofitable *Branches* left to fall off by Degrees? Such as insist upon this *Objection*, I am sure, are either silly *Fools* that understand not what they say, or they have the *Jesuits* and the *Dissenters* sence of the *Establish'd Religion*, that it must have *Baits* and *Allurements* to gain *Proselytes*; which is certainly the greatest *Scandal* imaginable upon any *Church* or *Perswasion* whatsoever. For Truth will ever prevail, *Magna est veritas & prævalebit*; and tho' it may be *Clouded* for some time, yet it can never be *overcome*, because it alwaies stands firm upon *Feet* of *Iron*, without any *mixture* of *Clay.* Are not we then extreamly oblig'd to such rare *Advocates*, who seem to plead for the *Establish'd Church*, and with the same *Breath* endeavour to make her *Ridiculous* to her *Enemies*? As if she were not able to stand her *Ground* in *Spirituals*, without a *Monopoly* of all the *temporal Advantages* of the *Kingdom*; which (as St. *Jerome* * has long since well observ'd) does very often rather *hinder*, than *advance* the *Purity* of the *Gospel.* Yet this I perceive, is the *ordinary Method* of the *Faction*, to make loud *pretences* of *Zeal* for the *Church*, and of *Loyalty* to the *King*, and at the same time take such *Measures* under this *Mask*, as will effectually *Weaken*, if not *Destroy* both in the *Conclusion.*

* *Nemo æstimet bonos posse de Ecclesia decedere: Triticum non rapit ventus, nec arborem solida radice fundatam procellæ subvertunt. Inanes paleæ tempestate jactantur.* S. Cyprian.

* *Postquam Ecclesia cepit Christianos habere Magistratus, facta est quidem opibus major, sed virtutibus minor.* S. Hierom.

But the *Main Point* is yet behind, which if they can but compass by *Hook* or by *Crook*, they are *cock-sure* of the *Victory*;

but if they ſhou'd fail, as undoubtedly they will, all their other *Arts* and *Contrivances* will prove inſignificant. The *Revenue* ſettled on the late *King*, tho very inconſiderable to ſupport the *Grandeur* and the *ordinary Charge* of the *Government*, has been a great *Grievance* to the *Godly Party*, and no ſmall *Block* in their way to a *thorow Reformation*, that is in plain *Engliſh*, the *Subverſion* of *Church* and *State*. And therefore they have now all their *Engines* at work to hinder the ſetling on his preſent *Majeſty* ſuch *Branches* of it, as are not already made *perpetual*, that He may not be able either to defend His *People*, or to offend His *Enemies*. But as the *Devil*, when he intends moſt *Miſchief*, transforms himſelf into an *Angel* of *Light*, ſo do our *giddy Goſpellers*, to hide their *Cloven Foot* of *Separation*, pretend to be *zealous Advocates* for the *Church* of *England*, when really they deſign Her *Ruine*, which they know has no *Security* under *God*, but in the *Strength* and *Power* of the *Monarchy*. They boaſt, that beſides ſome *Lords* and ſeveral *Commoners* of the *Eſtabliſh'd Religion*, they have got a *Prelate* or two (and you may remember they allow'd us lately but two *Proteſtant Biſhops*) to joyn with them in their Inſolent *Propoſal* for *Clipping* the *Prerogative*; which if refus'd, as they expect it will, becauſe *unreaſonable* and of very ill *Conſequence*, they hope it may then beget ſuch *Miſunderſtandings* between *King* and *Parliament*, as will make them part without providing for the *Security* of the *Publick*. Yet becauſe they find the *Nation* is now grown *weary* of *Confuſion*, and the *Major Part*, out of a ſenſe of *Duty* and *common ſafety*, inclin'd to comply with their *Soveraign* for the ſupport of the *Government*, they have another *Project*, which they think will *better* take, and in *Proceſs* of *Time* will do their *Work* as well, *viz.* that the *Revenue* be not ſetled but from *Year* to *Year*, at moſt not above *three Years* together, that they may, like *Dutiful Subjects*, keep their *Soveraign* on his *good Behaviour*; by which *Means* they are ſure of *frequent opportunities* to ſhuffle the Cards again, and venture in ſpite of *Fate* another *Game* for the *Good Old Cauſe*.

Theſe, Sir, are the *wild Imaginations* of a reſtleſs ſort of *People* amongſt us, whoſe *Religion*, like the *Story* of the *Salamander* in the Fire, never thrieves but in *Confuſion*. And therefore I ſhou'd be ſorry, that any *Member* of the *Church* of *England*, whoſe *Doctrine* I am ſure is quite oppoſite, ſhou'd be ſo far miſled, as to joyn with them in ſuch *Diſloyal Contrivances*. We may eaſily ob-

ſerve from late and former Experience, that the *Welfare* of all *Nations*, but more particularly of this, wholly conſiſts in a *good Underſtanding*, and *mutual Confidence* between *Prince* and *People*; and that if the one be *jealous* of the other, neither our *Peace* at home, nor *Trade* abroad can be *Durable*; for both *Domeſtick* and *Foreign Enemies* will daily gain ground upon us, and make us at length a *Prey* to their *Malice* or *Ambition*.

Beſides, if we conſider the *Grievous Complaints* of former ages againſt *Monopolyes*, and the frequent *Diſputes* about the *Kings Prerogative*, and the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, with the *many Evils* that follow'd to the great *Hazard* of the *Publick*, which were all founded on the *want* of *Money*, we ſhall quickly conclude with the *Emperour Theodoſius*, *Periculoſiſſimum Animal Pauper Rex*: And that it is neither *Dutiful* nor *Prudent* in *Subjects* to tempt their *Prince* to go out of the beaten *Road*, and ſtrain his *Prerogative*, or hearken to the *Devices* of *Projectors*, for the *ſupport* of his *Government*. His *Majeſty* in his moſt *Gracious Declaration* was pleas'd to take particular notice of the *Loyalty* both of the *Members* and of the *Principles* of the *Church* of *England*, and promis'd upon that Account to defend and ſupport it. But, if in ſtead of continuing *Loyal* and *Faithful*, according to our *Duty* and to our *Conſcience*, we ſhou'd endeavour by raiſing a *Faction* in the *State*, to make the *Crown* uneaſie, we cancel the *Obligation* of this *Gracious Promiſe*, and give his *Majeſty* occaſion to make us as *uneaſie* as he pleaſes. For 'tis manifeſt, as his *Majeſty* well obſerv'd, *the Laws of England are ſufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he can wiſh*: And if he were forc'd by the *Baſeneſs* of ſome *People* to take ſuch *Meaſures* in his own *Defence*, which I am certain, nothing but their *Perverſneſs* cou'd induce him to do, 'tis *Demonſtrable*, he cou'd raiſe more *Money* that way in one year, than he can expect from his *Parliament* in three.

This cou'd be made out by ſeveral *Inſtances*, yet becauſe I have always been a great *Enemy* to *Projects*, and very averſe from cutting out *new ways* for raiſing the *King Money*, when a *Parliament*, if mindful of their *Duty* and of the *Publick Good*, is undoubtedly the *Beſt* and the moſt *Natural Method*, I will inſtance only two *Branches*, and make no *extravagant Calculation*,

to

to prove my *Assertion*. The first is, that if the * *Laws* made by K. *Edward* 6. and confirm'd by Q. *Elizabeth* and K. *James*, against *eating* of *Flesh* in *Lent* and other *Fasting-days*, were put in *execution*, where the least *Penalty* is ten shillings and ten days *Imprisonment* for the first, and double for the *second Offence* (not to mention higher * *Forfeitures* since impos'd) most *People* rather than be obnoxious to such *Penalties*, or oblig'd to abstain from Flesh near 150 days in the Year, two Fifths of the whole, wou'd give a yearly Sum, at least 20 shillings one with another, and save treble by it in the price of Fish, for *Licences* from the *King*, according to a *Proviso* made in one of the said Statutes: *Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That this Act or any thing therein contained, shall not in any wise extend to any Person or Persons, that heretofore hath, or hereafter shall have obtained any Licence of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Heirs or Successors.* 2 & 3 Ed. 6. *C.* 19. *Sect.* 5. Now all *knowing Men* do generally agree there are in *England* at least *six Millions* of Persons, and we may reasonably suppose above two Fifths liable to this *Statute*, who consequently wou'd yield to the *Crown* two *Millions* and a half of Pounds Sterling *per An.* near double the *Produce* of the three great *Branches* of the *Revenue*, the *Customs*, *Excise*, and *Hearth Money*. Secondly, If his *Majesty*, which *God* forbid, should find the *Members* of the *Church* of *England* refractory, and thereupon think fit to countenance the *Dissenters*, and suspend the *Penal Laws* against them, pursuant to the *Bill* pass'd both *Houses* in the last *Parliament* at *Westminster*, he might have their *Hearts* and *Purses* at his *Devotion*, if it were for no other *Reason*, but to spite the establish'd *Church*, and seem to outdo them in *Loyalty*. And since there are in *England* above six hundred thousand *Dissenters* and *Libertines*, who wou'd rather pay 12 pence a *Sunday*, that is 52 shillings *per An.* than be oblig'd to go to *Church*; his *Majesty* might receive above a *Million* and a half more upon this Account.

2 & 3 E. 6. *C.* 19.

* 5 Eliz. 5. *Sect.* 15. & 35 Eliz. *c.* 7. 22. & 17 Car. 1. *C.* 4.

Thus I have shew'd you in part, how the *King* might raise *Money* enough to supply his *Necessities*, without the *Assistance* of a *Parliament*; yet at the same time I must tell you, I do

not

not approve of the *Method*, nor do I believe *his Majesty* will ever make use of any such *Artifice*, who values more a *Penny* with the *Affection* of his *People*, than a *Pound* gain'd by any other *Means*. Nevertheless, it makes it plain, 'tis our *Interest* as well as *Duty*, not to tempt him too much; for if it be a true saying, *Cervus lacessitus Leo*, what shall a *Lyon* be, when provok'd beyond Measure?

As for that *Factious Contrivance* of the *Cabal*, to have the *Revenue* settled but from year to year, or some limited time, 'tis so *Base* and so *Disloyal* a *Project*, that it is not to be imagin'd the *Parliament* wou'd propose, or the *King* accept of any such thing. 'Tis enough to make all *Honest Men* abhor it, that it was never off r'd to any *King* of *England*, but to his *Majesties Father*, our *Royal Martyr*, whom the *Bloodhounds*, that hunted him to the *Scaffold*, thought fit to feed as it were with *Sugar-plums*, till they wheedled him out of all Power, and then made him a *Sacrifice* to secure their *Usurpation*. But the *Impudence* of the *Faction* is very *prodigious*, who have the *Face* to think of such a *Proposal*, and at the same time talk of the *Necessity* of a *general Act* of *Indemnity*, to *forget* and *forgive* all past *Miscarriages*. Wou'd it please them, think you, to have such a *Pardon* as wou'd secure them from *Justice* from year to year, or from one *Session* of *Parliament* to another, as they are pleas'd to propose about the *Revenue*? Or wou'd they have the *Revenue* so *Limited*, and the *Pardon* made *Absolute*? This I am sure no *Honest man* will approve of; none, but a *Partie* in the late *Conspiracy* will offer or promote. I am sensible an *Act* of *Oblivion*, provided the *Crown* were secur'd against further Attempts, wou'd be a great Means to quiet *Peoples* minds; whereof a great many are still *Apprehensive*, the *Conspirators*, that fled from *Justice*, will one time or other be taken, or freely come in, and to save their own *Bacon*, will discover their Accomplices in that *Hellish Design*, which (as *Captain Walcot* confess'd in his last *Speech* at *Tyburn*) *was laid very deep, and the King had a great many men to take Judgment of*: But otherwise 'tis only acquitting the *Faction* of all their former *Contrivances*, and exposing the *Monarchy* to their *future Designs*.

This wou'd be a *Fatal Errour* indeed, and of so pernicious a *Consequence*, that we need not fear there will be any such *Pardon*

granted, without good *Proviſion* made on the other ſide to keep the *Diſaffected* in awe. And 'tis manifeſt there is no *poſſibility* of providing for, or ſecuring the *Crown*, nor conſequently the *Peace* and *Tranquillity* of his *Majeſties* good Subjects, any other way than by ſettling for ever a *ſufficient Revenue* for the *Support* and *Defence* of the *Government* againſt all the *Machinations* of its *Enemies*. For to ſettle a *fond*, tho otherwiſe conſiderable, for a term of years, or during Life, is like the *Jeſuits Powder*, which puts the *ill Humors* aſleep for ſome time, but deſtroys not the *Original Cauſe* of the Diſtemper. And if we conſider that the *Nation* wou'd think it leſs grievous, to be tax'd yearly a *Million* of *Money* for ſeven years together, than oblig'd to pay four *Millions* in any one year, without being charg'd a Farthing for the other ſix, becauſe the former operates like *Phyſical Dyet*, but the later like a *Violent Purgation*, we ſhall find 'tis no leſs the *Peoples* than the *Princes* Intereſt to have the Revenue made certain and perpetual. It was well obſerv'd by the beſt *Parliament* that ever met in our Days, *That nothing conduceth more to the Peace and Proſperity of a Nation, and the Protection of every ſingle Perſon therein, than that the Publick Revenue thereof may be in ſome meaſure proportioned to the Publick Charge and Expence.* 13 & 14 Car. 2. Cap. 10. Sect. 1. Since therefore the *Charges* of the *Government* are for the moſt part *perpetual*, is it not the *undoubted Intereſt* of all Honeſt Men, and particularly of thoſe that have any thing to loſe, to allow and ſettle upon the *Crown* for ever ſuch a *proportionable Revenue*, as may ſecure them in the peaceable *Poſſeſſion* of the reſt? As for the preſent, 'tis our *Comfort*, that *God* in his *Mercy* has been pleas'd to ſet a *Prince* to reign over us, ſo extraordinarily qualified for the greateſt *Undertakings*, that we may well conclude, *He was born to retrieve the ſinking Glory of the Engliſh Nation*, in whom the *Prudence* of *Henry* the ſeventh, and the *Courage* of *Henry* the Eighth, without the Droſs, either of the *formers* cloſe *Parcimony*, or of the *laters* too much *Severity*, do meet in *Perfection*: So that in His Days notwithſtanding all the *Snarlings* of an *inveterate* ſort of *People*, we need not fear any conſiderable *Diſturbance*. But if it pleaſe *God* to call him, which I heartily wiſh may not be till after a *Long* and *Proſperous Reign*, from an *Earthly* to a *Heavenly* Crown, and leave no *Iſſue Male*, or but a *Child* to ſucceed him, what ſhall then become of the *Monarchy*,

if

if at the ſame time the greateſt part of the *Revenue* happens to expire? The *people* will dwindle afreſh into ſeveral *Parties* and *Factions*, the *Republicans* have an opportunity to puſh for their *Darling Commonwealth*, and the *Crown* becauſe poor, and the *Succeſſor* not very active, will be in danger of being made a *Prey* by the *ſtrongeſt Arm* and *longeſt Sword*; which will inevitably turn our *Britiſh Paradiſe* into a *Field* of *Blood*, and involve the three *Kingdoms* in endleſs Confuſions.

To prevent therefore ſuch *Fatal Calamities*, as I do not queſtion your *Zeal* in the Matter, ſo I hope your *Fellow-Members*, and the whole *Repreſentative Wiſdom* of the *Nation*, *King*, *Lords* and *Commons*, will take effectual care to ſecure your *Country*, not only in your *own days*, but as far as *poſſible*, for *Future Generations*. If you conſider, how ſtiff and unreaſonably *obſtinate People* are ſometimes, who like the *Fooliſh Members* in the *Apologue* combining againſt the *Belly*, refuſe to help their *Prince*, tho' to prevent their own and their *Countries* ruine, you can have no *Reaſon* to leave a buſineſs of ſuch *Importance*, as the *Welfare* of your *Poſterity*, to *blind chance*, or to the *Humor* and *Capricio* of *pretended Patriots*. The taking of *Conſtantinople* by *Mahomet* the Great gives us a remarkable *inſtance* of this ſort of *Madneſs*, which made the *Grecians* of a *Learned flouriſhing Nation*, become the moſt *ignorant Peaſants*, and the *vrieſt Slaves* in Nature. The poor *Emperor* went, as it were for *Alms* from door to door, begging of the *Rich Citizens* to contribute a little *Money* to enable him againſt the *Common Enemy*: but they pleaded *Poverty*, and wou'd not part with a *Farthing*, till the *Town* was taken by Storm, and *three hundred Millions* of their *Money* brought into the *Conquerors* Coffers; who wondering how ſo Rich a *City* cou'd be ſo eaſily won, ſaid, *If theſe People had beſtow'd but three Millions of this Money in defence of their City, I cou'd never have taken it.* But what need we go into *Forreign Countries*, when we have *inſtances* enough at *Home*, and within our own *Memory*, to convince us of this Truth. The ſtrange *uſage King CHARLES* the firſt, and his late *Majeſty* for ſome years paſt, receiv'd from an *ungrateful ſort of People*, (who the more *Gracious* and *obliging* they found their *Prince*, the more *Stiff* and *Refractory* ſtill they grew, to the undoing almoſt of the whole *Nation*) is *warning* enough to all honeſt and thinking *Men*, to provide againſt ſuch dangerous *Fits* of *Madneſs* for the future.

'Tis true, saies one, it were to be wish'd such provisions cou'd be made, as wou'd for ever secure the *Crown* from all future Attempts, both *Forreign* and *Domestick*; but then, on the other side, what security cou'd the *People* have, that the *Prince* wou'd not in two or three Generations shake off his *Parliaments*, and make Himself *absolute*? This, I must confess, is a very *Popular Objection*, and the main *Block* in our way to a *Happy Settlement*, which is never to be hop'd for without a mutual Confidence between *Prince* and *People*: yet we see, it weigh'd not with the *Parliament* of *Scotland*, whose steady *Loyalty* in the late times of *Tryal*, and now in making the *Revenue* of that Kingdom *Perpetual*, has made all possible amends for the many Evils the *Scotch Covenant* has formerly brought upon us. And I hope, it shall never be said, that an *English Parliament* will be behind them in *Duty* or *Affection* to their *Prince*, or less mindful of the *Publick*; especially when they can have no other grounds for so doing, but bare unsupposable possibilities of future Inconveniences. For it is not to be imagin'd by *Rational* Men, that any *King* of *England* will ever be so far overseen, as to hazard the loss of all the hearts of his *People*, the only *support* and *security* of *Princes*, to make himself somewhat more *absolute*, while He may, even by the *Laws* of the *Land*, be as great a *Monarch* as any good *Christian* can wish; and the frequent *Meetings* and *Counsels* of *King* and *Parliament* are the only means to make both *Prince* and *People Happy*; because, as *Solomon* tells us, *Without Counsel, Purposes are disappointed, but in the multitude of Counsellours they are established.* Prov. 15. 22.

Nevertheless, to obviate this and all other Objections of that kind, if we seriously consider Matters, we shall find that a middle course may be taken, by which we may avoid all these Inconveniences. For if a competent *Revenue*, that is, the *Customs* and the temporary part of the *Excise*, be made perpetual, to support the *Crown* against *Forreign* or *Domestick Designs*, upon the Death of the *Sovereign*; And because this is not sufficient to defray the necessary *Charges* of the *Government*, while our *Neighbours* have far greater *Revenues*, if the *Parliament* will settle an *Additional Fond* for Life, whereof part shall be appropriated to particular uses, and the *overplus* laid up in *Bank*, instead of our *occasional Taxes*, towards the *Expence* of a *War*, &c. with this *Proviso*, that all *Officers* concern'd shall give the *Parliament* a full account of their *Receipts* and *Disbursements* once

every three years, otherwiſe all farther *Levies* of the ſame to ceaſe; both *Prince* and *People* will then be ſecur'd, *Parliaments* even upon this account will be found ſtill neceſſary, the *Nation* much eas'd in raiſing their *Taxes*, and the *Crown* made more conſiderable both at home and abroad.

You will excuſe me, I hope, if I do not any further deſcend to Particulars, or take upon me to tell you exactly, which your Fellow-Members can do a great deal better, how much may be a ſufficient Fond to anſwer all the ends aforemention'd. 'Tis enough to ſay in general, that I ſee no other Rule in that Caſe to be made uſe of, but the Conſideration of the Strength and Riches of our Neighbour-Nations, and that the Publick *Revenue* of *England* muſt bear ſome proportion to theirs, unleſs we intend to live within ourſelves, and think no longer on trading with Forreign Countries. We ſee how much the *French* and *Dutch* have, within theſe fourſcore years paſt, encroach'd upon our undoubted Right, the Dominion of the Narrow Seas, and by that upon our Trade and Commerce, the great Magazine of our Wealth, to the loſs of many Millions a year to the *Engliſh* Nation. And we cannot in reaſon expect they will deſiſt, untill we put ourſelves into ſuch a poſture, as will make it viſible to the World, we are able to cope with them, and to recover our own; which yet is altogether impoſſible, as long as we have nothing elſe to depend upon, but temporary Taxes, to carry on a War; while they have vaſt Sums of Money in Caſh, and a large yearly *Revenue* to oppoſe us, the *French King* about twelve Millions of Pounds ſterling *per an.* and the *Dutch*, who in Queen *Eliz.* time ſtil'd themſelves, *The poor diſtreſſed States of Holland*, above five Millions, coming in yearly into their publick Treaſury. For they cannot be ignorant, but that the extraordinary Charge of a War, falling upon us all of a ſudden, will quickly make the *People* here ſo uneaſie, that they will be content to quit their Right after all their loſſes, and clap up a Peace on any terms, rather than bear ſuch heavy unuſual Taxes any longer; ſo that if our Enemies can but prolong the War for ſome years, they will by degrees weary us out, and force us at laſt to a Compliance. Whereas if they ſaw, we had a conſiderable Sum of Money in Caſh, and the like yearly coming in, to defray the Charge of a War without making the *People* uneaſie, they wou'd be more cautious how to offend us, and without ſtriking a ſtroke wou'd be

But becauſe the Circulation of Money is thought as neceſſary to the *Body Politick*, as that of Blood to the *Natural*, and therefore the hoarding up ſuch Sums in time of Peace wou'd prove very prejudicial to Trade, the Life and Vigour of a *Commonwealth*, this intended Bank of Money may ſtill be laid out to uſe on good Securities by *Commiſſioners* appointed by Act of *Parliament*, ſome of the moſt knowing, moſt honeſt, and beſt eſtated of both Houſes, and the Intereſt conſtantly imploy'd either in building *Work-houſes* for the *Strong*, and *Hoſpitals* for the *Sick* and *Diſabled* Poor of the *Kingdom*, or in ſome publick Trade, as the *Woollen Manufacture*, *Fiſhing*, or the like, which will be of infinite Advantage to the whole Body of the *Nation*. Neither is it it to be reckon'd the leaſt, that this Method wou'd in a ſhort time ſpoil the ſport of *upſtart cheating Bankers*, who ſtick like Leeches daily ſucking the Blood of the credulous unwary People, while they can find any faith upon earth; but when that fails them, ſo that they can ſuck no more, then they drop off, and to the ruine of hundreds of poor families wilfully break for many thouſands of Pounds, tho perhaps not one of them had a hundred to begin withal, and run into the *Fryers* or the *Kings-Bench*, where they live like petty Princes upon the Fortunes of poor Widows and Orphans, to whom in caſe they condeſcend to come to any Compoſition, they will hardly allow a Crown in the Pound of their Principal Money. And which is very ſtrange, there is no *Corporal Puniſhment* here, as in *Foreign Countries*, not ſo much as the Pillory to be inflicted in this *Caſe*, nor any other Remedy to be had, if the Bankrupt has the wit to ſecure his Books and Money, which he may eaſily do, when he *deſignedly* breaks to defraud his Creditors.

This is a hard caſe indeed, and a very great grievance, well worth the *Parliaments Care* to contrive ſuch Laws as may prevent the like for the future; But the *Devil of Perjury* is the grand *Grievance* of all, which beſt deſerves their moſt ſerious Conſideration: For if ſuch as deal with Bankrupts are *ruin'd* in their *Eſtates*, and if upon that account others are frightned from laying out their Money, becauſe for a *little Gain* they will not *hazard* the loſs of their whole *Fortune*, which is a main obſtruction to Trade; the *True-Proteſtant Flayl* of *Perjury* will not only ruine *People* in their *Fortunes*, but will *Hocus Pocus* them out of their *Innocence*, and ſweep *Eſtate*, *Reputation*, *Life* and all away, to the uttter undoing of whole *Families*. Yet

certainly 'tis a great Soleciſm in our Laws, that if one *Robs* another of *Sixpence* upon the Road, he is hang'd without any more ado; but if a Banker *cheats thouſands* of his Majeſties Subjects, of *Millions of Money*, and can but get into the *Fryers* or *Kings-Bench*, he is as ſafe as a Thief in a Mill, and cares not a ſtraw whether his Creditors do live or ſtarve. And which is yet worſe, if a forſworn Villain will ſet up for a *Kings* Evidence, and by his Perjuries murder never ſo many innocent Subjects, all he is to ſuffer, is to ſtand in the Pillory, or loſe his *more harmleſs Ears*, inſtead of his *Murdering Tongue*. Whereas the Divine Law expreſly orders, that *Whoſoever ſheddeth mans blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed*, Gen. 9. 6.

But the Truth is, tho' the Fundamentals of our Conſtitutions be undoubtedly the beſt Laws in the world, and the moſt ſuitable to the *Genius* of the *Engliſh* Nation; yet we have ſeveral defects on the one hand, and a great deal of rubbiſh on the other, that want a Reformation, the proper province of *King* and *Parliament*. And in this caſe, as I am certain of your Zeal, ſo I doubt not but your Fellow-Members will be forward enough to promote ſo good a Work, whereon the happineſs of this Nation ſo much depends, which ſome of their Predeceſſors have ſtrangely neglected. For I find the *French Gentleman* was not very much out in his Obſervation, when he ſaid, that as the *Roman* Conclave's overbuſying themſelves with Temporal Matters and State-Affairs, which was none of their buſineſs, did no ſmall injury to the Chriſtian Religion; ſo ſeveral Members of our Houſe of Commons for ſome years paſt, medling too much with Religion, and prying into Intrigues of State, which was quite out of their * Sphere, made them very much neglect the true Intereſt of their Country. But now, I hope, we have got a true Engliſh Parliament, that will zealouſly promote the Good of the Publick, diſable the Faction from making any diſturbance, ſettle a ſufficient Revenue upon the Crown, to ſupport the Grandeur and neceſſary Charge of the Government, repeal the uſeleſs and enact new Laws for the advancement of Trade, and in a word, make their King as happy in this, as ever any of his Anceſtors have been in their moſt Loyal and bountiful Parliaments: Which, becauſe the only way to a *Laſting Settlement*, is the hearty wiſh of

SIR,

Your &c.

7 May

* 35 *Eliz. The Queen herſelf told the Commons, It was not meant they ſhou'd meddle with matters of State, or Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. And the like did K.* James 1. Sanderſons *Hiſt.* p. 510.